



A N  
ADDRESS  
TO THE  
People of IRELAND.



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ADDRESS



People of Ireland.

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A N  
ADDRESS  
TO THE  
PEOPLE of IRELAND,  
On the PRESENT STATE of  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS,  
AND THEIR  
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

*H. Incognitus. Pseud.*

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DUBLIN,  
Printed in the YEAR M DCC LVIII.

A M  
ADDRESS

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF IRELAND

On the subject of the



PUBLICATIONS

AND

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS



DUBLIN

Printed in the Year M DCC LVI



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TO THE  
PUBLISHER.

**T**HE Occasion of writing these few Sheets, will be a sufficient Apology for the Author, who from the irresistible Call of general Danger, endeavours to join his Assistance to the common Preservation; a Duty so incumbent on all, that it cannot be omitted without Treason to the State.

Natural Desire of Happiness will rouse Mankind to Activity, but Reason must direct the Course for its Attainment.

Private Views have too long had their pernicious Influence on the Spirit of the People; both Prudence and Necessity require an Alteration: and that can only be effected by setting to publick Observation those Things which are the Essence of their Welfare; otherwise the publick Attention may be again busied in Trifles, and material Things neglected.

That noble Ardor for Publick Good, which now warms the Breasts of our Countrymen, may be artfully directed against the Parliamentary Chair, or wasted in Party Disputes. Whereas, if the real Interest of the Nation is kept in View, it is as immaterial who sits in the Chair, as who brushes it. A Speaker is

is by Office but the Cryer of a House, like a Tube to collect several Sounds into one, to prevent the confused Discord of a general Clamour. To this is added, the important Business of Master of the Ceremonies.

I speak this abstracted from the Weight real Merit, as a Senator, gains in the House; but this is attendant on the Man, not the elevated Seat. I hope, therefore, the Time of the present Sessions will, at this critical Juncture, be more usefully employed than in such insignificant Disputes, or the Community will be but little indebted to its Representatives.

This Address is intended for the Publick Benefit, and Your's, in committing the Publication to your Hands. If it will answer these Ends, it will in both Respects give Pleasure to the Author, who, tho' cloaked in his invisible Mantle, is much Your's,

**Incognitus.**

P. S. As here are some proper Hints to our Members, you may, if you please, prefix this Letter, as the Address is short; for I hate *Writing*, as much as my Fellow-Countrymen do *Thinking*.



A N  
A D D R E S S  
T O T H E  
P E O P L E of I R E L A N D.



S we have too sensible and melancholly an Experience, that the State of Publick Affairs is in a very bad and declining Condition, and as it is the Nature of Mankind to throw the Blame as far as possible from themselves, and to impute Misfortunes to the Errors of others, that is their own, or the publick Calamities, may not be imputed to their Misconduct, or want of Virtue; every ill-founded Surmise is the Topick of common Conversation, and a general Discontent to the Administration is created, by the Cause of all publick Distresses being laid at the Door of the Ministry.

But such Proceedings are so far from bringing Relief, that they still increase the Evil, by strengthening Opposition to all Measures of Government; which of itself will be found to be the greatest Cause of the present ill Posture of Affairs.

This Address is to lay before the Publick a View of Things, and their attendant Consequences; from whence we may learn the real Causes of Prosperity and Misery, and thereby be able to fix



on Means for the Attainment of the one, and avoiding the other.

The general Malady, here, and in *England*, is both a publick and private Poverty: What is meant by Poverty, is the want of Circulating Cash sufficient to supply publick Expences, the carrying on Trade, and procuring the Necessaries of Life for Individuals. Wherever there is not a Sufficiency of Cash for these Purposes, the Nation is not only poor, but by the Use of Credit instead of an actual Currency, must necessarily grow more so, as that will certainly burthen and decrease Trade, that only Means of procuring Money to a Nation, where Bullion is not the natural Produce, but must be acquired by Barter with others.

Circulation of Cash is to a Nation, what Blood and animal Spirits are to the human Body; a Repletion may render it swoln and indolent; as a Scarcity, weak, dispirited, and incapable to perform its proper Functions; but a proper Quantity is perfect Health.

The National Wealth should be distributed between the Government and the People, in Proportion to the Necessities of each; for if the People are rich, but the Government poor, and ill supplied by its Revenues, it takes the Power from the Hands in which it should be lodged, and transfers it to that many-headed Monster, the uncertain People. On the contrary, when the Riches of the Country are drawn into the Hands of Government, it makes the People not so properly governable, as miserably abject: The Revenues therefore of the Government should always bear a Proportion to the Wealth of the Community.

When a Nation is daily weakening, by the Course of Trade running in its Disfavour, true Policy requires that the Government should not raise more Taxes than absolute Necessity requires  
for



for its Safety and Protection ; and at the same Time should make such Laws as will restore the Ballance of Trade to the Advantage of the Country. If by the Wisdom of the Government this happy Point is gained, and the Nation becomes so opulent, that it inclines rather to a Degree of Repletion, as Government is formed by general Consent, not only for Protection, but Advancement of the publick Welfare ; in this Situation the Revenue may be enlarged beyond what is necessary for Protection, to a Sufficiency for procuring further Power and Advantages to the State, and even to enlarge the Premiums of those employed in its Service, that they may receive a proportionable Share of the common Benefit, which also increases the Circulation ; a Thing equally prudent in such Cases, as a strict Frugality, when general Scarcity prevails.

In *England*, the Wisdom of Parliament has always been exerted to increase its Wealth by Trade ; yet, at the same Time, such constant Taxes have been raised, and Sums borrowed on the publick Credit, that the Profits arising from their extensive Commerce has been hardly able to support the Nation under the yearly Expences ; and the general Circulation is at this Time so decreased, that it is sensibly felt by all Ranks of People ; and an universal Cry is against the Ministers, as if the sole Cause arose from their Avarice or Corruption.

But, in this lies the fatal Mistake, as it leads to improper Means of Redress. The Fault is General, and from a general Reformation alone can a Cure be expected. Would Mankind act in a steady Course for the publick Good, the Ministry would gladly concur, as it would ease them of the most difficult and disagreeable Part of their Administration.

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It is certain; that vast Sums (more than the true End of Government required) have been raised on the Publick, and this by Taxes which have clogged, and consequently injured Trade, and thereby decreased the *Quantum* of Circulation. The Existence of Bribery is too well known to be denied; but let us examine the Origin of these Evils, and we shall find them spring from the Corruption of the People, and not of Ministers, and that it is still kept alive by its parental Cause; nor can it ever be destroyed but by an Alteration of the Soil, the Principles of the People.

The first Parties which divided *England*, were either in Support or Diminution of the Prerogative; and as in former Times it had been often extended, and sometimes broke in upon, as the Crown or People had the Lead; each Party on this Head had something plausible in their Support, till the happy Period of the Revolution.

Then our glorious Constitution was established on its original Principles; by which the Power of the Crown was exactly limited, and the Rights of the Subjects no longer problematical; that has given every rational necessary Power to the Crown, which is as much as a good King would desire, and as a bad one ought to be trusted with. When our Constitution was thus ascertained and secured, and King *William* placed upon the Throne, the Supporters of King *James*, and his Claims of absolute Power, endeavoured with every Method of Influence, by Art and Money, to bring into Parliament a Majority of their *Jacobite* Party, in hopes to overturn, in a parliamentary Manner, that Bulwark of true Liberty, raised by parliamentary Authority.

It was to defeat these Schemes, that the Ministry were first compelled to use the same Arms to repel, which their Antagonists did to attack; and as they thought

thought the overturning the established Constitution a justifiable Cause for Bribery, the Ministers might reasonably think it more so in the Preservation.

When the Pleasure of private Gain, attendant on publick Services, was felt by Mankind, and as Self-Interest is the great Mover of human Actions, and this from the want of Consideration, often misunderstood, and that true Proposition, Self-Love and Social are the same, overlooked; it is easy to conceive, the Parties who were first hired in the Defence of the Constitution, and who, like *Swiss*, fought for the Pay, and not the Cause, would desert every Point they were not retained to support. Every Measure, therefore, became an Expence to the Government.

And all publick Business must either be at a Stand, or great Sums wrested from the hard Hands of Peasants for this fatal Purpose.

How far Utility and Policy supports or rejects Measures at this Day, is left to the Judgment of Mankind; but till these are our sole Motives of Concurrence or Dissent, it may fairly be pronounced, that so far from a Cure, our Maladies will increase.

A general Corruption is not the Case with us; the Infection is not extensive, the general Principles are sound; our National Malady is an Indolence in Thinking; and, as the Vulgar in Religion, so we, in Politicks, rest our Faith on the pretended Infallibility of fallacious Leaders: Are they corrupt or ignorant, it becomes characteristical to the Nation, and as fatal to the Whole, as if the Case of each Individual. Whereas it is the Duty of Mankind, as rational Creatures, to examine the Grounds of all Opinions, and not let their Judgments be swayed by feigned Stories and meer Assertions.



As too implicit a Faith in a few, arising from a general Want of careful Enquiries into Things, has kept our Nation in a languid unflourishing Condition, let us at last throw off our Lethargy, and exert our utmost Abilities for its Culture and Improvement: And to this End, let us take a View of the Nature and Use of the State Revenues, which will direct us to the most certain and salutary Means, publick Oeconomy.

On the Foundation of Government, when Monarchy was the Form, the King had Lands allotted, as the Crown Estate, to support its Dignity, and the Officers employed in Affairs of State, or the Administration of Justice: As to the Royal Power of Protection and Defence, that was supported by a Right to call on all the Subjects for their personal Attendance and Assistance. Amongst our Northern Ancestors, from whose Constitution our's is derived, Land was given to the Subjects on express Reservation of certain military Services, which were due to the Crown as the publick Protector; and if these Services were neglected, the Crown might satisfy itself for the Loss, either by seizing the Land or levying a Fine, that the common Force might not be lessened; and it was on this Principle only all the feudal Profits of Tenure arose to the Crown.

The first Revenue, which was created by way of Custom or Impost, related to the Protection of maritime Affairs, and to secure Merchants from the Attacks of the Enemies and Pirates at Sea, which must have occasioned a great Expence to the Crown, and for which it had no original Revenue. Pliny gives us the same Account of their Origin: *Primaria Vitiique alium Causa; easatio fuit, ut Planatutaeque Mercatori preterianti praestarentur.* In Process of Time, when the Nation increased in Number, Commerce and Opulence, and its Neigh-  
bours



hours likewise becoming daily more powerful, the Expence of Protection naturally had its proportional Increase; so that the old Revenues were far short of what was wanting for this necessary Purpose. The King, having no Power to raise new Supplies from the Subjects, made Application from Time to Time to his Parliament to grant him such Sums as the Exigencies of Affairs required, which, when granted by Parliament, the Power of levying and applying the same was entirely in the Crown, as having the whole executive Power of the State; nor could the Parliament call for an Account of its Application, except for Information as to the Necessity of granting further Supplies on any subsequent Demand: It being their principal Duty to see the People were not burthened with unnecessary Taxes.

In this Situation were Money Affairs till the Revolution, when an Alteration was made equally wise as the other politick Regulations in that memorable Æra.

To prevent all Disputes and Uneasiness about the publick Supplies, and their Application, and that the Crown might have a Revenue for the Support of its Dignity and civil Administration proportioned to the Wealth of the Nation, a certain Sum was established, called the Civil List; but other publick Expences were brought under the Power of Parliament, to raise and apply the Money for those Purposes; and no Power was left in the Crown to dispose of one Shilling of that Revenue to any Use but to that for which by Parliament it is appropriated.

This Regulation was made, to take away that extravagant Power which the Crown had before, from the sole Management and Distribution of the publick Revenue; a most wise Procedure, as it secures the Crown against Murmurs or Uncertainty,

and

and the Subjects Property from being arbitrarily applied to improper or unnecessary Uses. But this Policy extended only to *England*, this Kingdom being at that Time so far from having a Revenue to support its own Protection, that it was a heavy Burthen on its Fellow Country. But since the Revolution, the Face of Affairs are greatly altered in our Favour; we are now able to support our internal Defence, and, in some Degree, the Dignity of the Crown. We ought therefore to follow the wise Plan established in *England*, and supply the Crown with a certain Sufficiency proportionate to our Abilities; there would then be a Rule for Expence, which would prevent the Commission of undesigned Wrong, and remove all Foundation of Murmuring in the People.

The hereditary Revenues in this Kingdom are tolerably certain; but these being instituted in the Place of feudal Profits and the Crown Demesne Lands, are applicable both to the civil and protective Government; and when deficient for these Ends, it is then only the Representatives of the People are justifiable in granting further Supplies, and that only as proportionate to the real Wants of the Government.

It is the Duty of every true Patriot to follow Revolution Principles, and establish its wise Policy in this Kingdom: For whilst the Application of all Money is on the old Footing, and the Royal Presence at a Distance from us, it may be impossible for the Crown to know how far to act, consistent with the Welfare of this Kingdom; whereas, was the Income of the Crown certain, in Nature of the Civil List, it would be easy to know the Propriety of a requested Bounty; it would prevent many a fatal Grant of Pensions, which draw the Cash out of our scanty Circulation, and are like the Bleeding of enfeebled Patients, which at best will prevent

vent Recovery, if not bring on the expiring Moment.

Whether these salutary Ends were the Motives of the chief Promoters of our late unhappy Com-motions, will appear to all who seriously consider their Conduct, where every Mean was contrary to such an End ; instead of a dutiful Demeanor in Parliament, as Representatives of the People, and as such, having a Right to controul the future Supplies without any Infringement. On the Crown's Prerogative, the first Step was a scandalous and false Assertion, that his Majesty intended drawing out of *Ireland* the Money then in the Treasury for foreign Uses. A Charge most injurious to his Majesty's known Goodness and Justice ; and aggravated with this additional Guilt, that it was propagated to impose on the People, to transfer to the Cabal that Confidence, which before had been so rationally and properly placed in his Majesty.

The next Step of their Policy was to give this Suspicion a stronger Foundation than meer Assertions would procure ; for this End, they laid Claims to the Disposition and Controul of the Money, which had before been an unlimited Grant to his Majesty, and by the Constitution was solely under his Direction. This Claim being derogatory to the Dignity of the Crown, contrary to the Constitution of the Country, and a Reflection on his Majesty's Justice, they knew must be rejected, and thereby hoped to confirm the Suspicion they had raised of his Majesty's Disregard to this Kingdom.

Those who were not so infatuated as to give up their Judgment to the Guidance of the Cabal, saw the fatal Effects which would probably follow this Insult on his Majesty, and laboured to oppose it ; But the Minds of the People were poisoned, and their



their mistaken Zeal for their Country so inflamed, that the sober Voice of Reason was drowned in tumultuous Clamours, and all Opponents considered as Persons desirous of selling their Liberties and Properties.

Who designed to be the Brokers in such a Sale, is now evident to every cool thinking Person; but happy for us, his Majesty had no Intention to make such a Purchase; so the Cabal, after obtaining that Power, as necessarily to be the Persons treated with, (his Majesty having no Occasion for such Agents) they were forced to accept small Præmiums for their future Silence, and readily made the best Terms for themselves, without gaining one Advantage for the Nation. That their Design was not to ease the Subject, but to force the Crown to give them a large Share of the superfluous Revenue, is demonstrative from the Proceedings of the last Sessions, when they deserted the Motion for making the Overplus of the then raised Duties accountable to Parliament: A Thing allowed to be constitutional and proper, by the Persons they had before branded as Courtiers and Betrayers of their Country.

The noble Spirit of Patriotism which now generally breathes, and the many Clubs instituted in its Support, gives great Satisfaction to every true Lover of his Country, as it will be a Means of forming a Senate equal to that of antient Rome, if not misdirected by artful and designing Men, a Thing (by late Experience) to be feared; it is therefore to be guarded against by making General Meetings cool sensible Assemblies, and not Bacchanalian Riots.

Let Actions be the Test of Patriotism; observe parliamentary Conduct, and whether the Means point to the avowed Ends: In the Choice of Representatives, let a landed Property be required; for



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for as Self-Interest is the great Bias in human Actions, that will always incline the Wish, to the Prosperity of the Country. This Policy is established by the Laws of *England*; and altho' a Qualification-Act is not to be expected from those it would displace, yet, by observing the last Rule, on any General Election yourselves can effectually make one. Let not therefore Family Interest so far influence, as to draw your Votes to any of its Branches without Land, as the Fortune of such must greatly depend on Court Favour, and they consequently receive its Commands.

The Observance of these Directions, together with your own Remarks on particular Characters, will procure such a Parliament as you may safely trust with your Liberties and Properties. If your present Representatives are desirous to convince you of an honest Zeal for your Service, let them endeavour to assimilate our's to the Constitution of our Fellow-Country, which would not only benefit both Crown and People, as before observed, but even the Ministry, and *Great Britain* herself; since, by circumscribing the Fund of Bounty, Ministers would be freed from the numberless Expectations and Demands which are encouraged by an unlimited Sum. At present any Denial by the Ministry to overload an enfeebled Nation, is construed by the Claimer a Want of Will to serve him, and is sure to create Enemies and Opposition.

As to *Great Britain*, the Benefit of such a Regulation is evident, since it puts Bounds to the Power of bad Ministers to corrupt their Members, by an undue Use of these Revenues.

There have been Objections made to an Attempt of such a Regulation, as being dangerous to this Kingdom, by which many well-meaning Persons have been intimidated, for want of a proper Knowledge in constitutional Matters, and therefore  
frighted

frighted at Apparitions raised by those, who, under Pretence of Patriotism, feign Fears for the Publick, when their real ones are, least they may fall into the Dilemma of either being the Contempt of their Countrymen, or take a Step disagreeable to the Ministry, and thereby lose the Emoluments of their Favour.

The great Objection is, that if the *Irish* Parliament should refuse the Sum at any Time demanded by the Government, the *British* Parliament would do it by their Power; which would put an End to our Legislature, and reduce us to a Degree of antient Vassalage.

This Supposition is not only contrary to constitutional Rights; and the Justice of the *British* Parliament; but is most impolitick in its Nature, and dangerous in its Consequences; for it breeds Fear and Hatred of our fellow Country, and makes two distinct clashing Communities of what the Constitution and natural Interest makes one. This is dividing a House against itself, and the Scripture shews you the Consequence.

The Parliament of *Ireland*, as to its proper Jurisdiction, is as well supported by the Principles of Northern Gothic Government, as that of *England*; and it is confirmed by a long prescriptive Right, even from the first Establishment of the *English* in this Island; and prescriptive Rights have always been allowed one of the best Titles to particular Forms of Government.

Does the Parliament of *England* raise Money, or make provincial Laws, even for our new Colonies in *America*? And can it be supposed so unnatural and unjust a Proceeding would be attempted against our antient and never disputed Rights? So far otherwise, every proper Exertion of Liberty on political Regulation is pleasing to those Sons of Freedom.

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While Reason is your Guide, you can attempt nothing but must mutually benefit: Was Faction indeed to influence, the Steps taken might be injurious to the whole Constitution and Policy; then it falls under the Power and Duty of the *British* Legislature to controul, as Superintendant of the common Interest. This is no Infringement of our Rights, but their Preservation. Our Conduct would be flying excentrick from our Orbit, and we must either be forced back, or the whole System would be lost in Confusion.

The Management of your own Revenue, and enacting Laws, are certainly within your Power; and therefore, as to these, there is no Reason to fear any Interposition of the *English* Parliament.

There never was a Period so favourable to Patriotism, or when true Policy would be better supported: His Majesty, by many Acts, hath shewn his Care of the Constitution, and the Liberties of his Subjects, and by the Mildness of his Reign, proves himself the Father of his People. The present Ministry in *England* are desirous to rule by the Wisdom of their Measures, and not by Faction or undue Influence: Like wise Physicians, they endeavour by gentle Alternatives to cleanse the Publick from Corruption, that infectious Humour too violent for a sudden Cure, and which, if neglected, would destroy the State. All salutary and just Proceedings, are but Co-operations with the Ministry.

Nor is the Encouragement less from our present Governor; a Person descended from a Race of noble Patriots; the Remembrance of their glorious Efforts for Support of Liberty, makes the Name of *Russel* pleasing to the Ear: The same Spirit lives in his Grace, with Sentiments so averse to Corruption, that he declined a Share in the Ministry while  
he



he suspected the least Compliance to that general and fatal Inclination.

When the Reins of Government are in such Hands, what prudent and just Reformation can meet even Opposition, much less Danger? Let publick Deliberations be conducted by Reason, not Faction, and under these Auspices, *Peace shall be within your Walls, and Plenteousness within your Palaces.*



**F I N I S.**

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